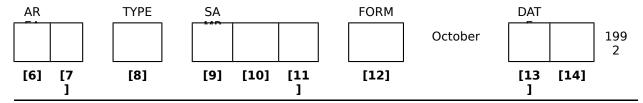
HART-BREGLIO 1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20009 (202) 234-5570 Interviews: 1008 Respondents
Dates: October 20-21, 1992

48 Male 52 Female **[5]**

FINAL

Study #4032 NBC News/WSJ October 1992



Hello, my name is ______ and I'm calling from Hart-Breglio for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Breglio for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (**IF "YES," SAY:**) Here is my first question. (**PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.**)

1a. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered	10	CONTINUE	[15
	0]
Not registered	-	TERMINATE AND DO NOT COUNT TOWARD	
Not sure	_	QUOTA	

1b. What are the chances you will vote in the November elections for president and U.S. Congress--are you almost certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50-50, or do you think you probably won't vote?

Almost certain to vote	9	[16]
	2	
Probably will vote	4	
50-50 chance of voting	2	

Probably won't vote	1
Not sure	1

1c. Have you been a consistent voter in almost all elections in the past, or do you only vote in some elections, or do you only rarely vote?

Vote in almost all elections	7	[17
	5]
Only vote in some	1	
	7	
Rarely vote	6	
Not sure	2	

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

										NBC						
	10/92	9/92	<u>8/92</u>	<u>7/92</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>11/9</u>	10/9	9/91	<u>8/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/9</u>	
					<u>2</u>				<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>				<u>1</u>	
Right direction	16	18	16	14	14	17	19	18	20	19	25	33	41	33	40	[18]
Wrong track.	69	67	70	71	72	70	67	67	68	64	57	49	38	50	44	
Mixed (VOL).	10	10	8	9	9	9	11	11	9	13	13	14	15	12	13	
Not sure	5	5	6	6	5	4	3	4	3	4	5	4	6	5	3	
			<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>2/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	11/89	<u>9/8</u>	
					<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>								<u>9</u>	
			40	55	65	28	22	45	40	42	47	44	49	41	42	
			38	26	22	51	59	40	37	38	32	31	29	35	34	
			17	15	9	15	14	10	18	16	13	20	17	19	19	
			5	4	4	6	5	5	5	4	8	5	5	5	5	

3. I'm going to read you the names of several people who are active in public affairs. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. (READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

<u>OTHER INTERVIEW.)</u>							
	Very <u>Positive</u>	Somewha t <u>Positive</u>	Neu - <u>tral</u>	Somewha t <u>Negative</u>	Very <u>Negativ</u> <u>e</u>	Don't Know Name/ <u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u>	
George Bush							
October 1992	14	20	14	22	30	-	[19]
September 1992	15	25	15	19	25	1	
August 1992	11	25	13	21	29	1	
July 1992	9	26	18	23	23	1	
May 1992	12	28	17	21	21	1	
April 1992	15	29	17	19	19	1	
February 1992	15	30	16	18	20	1	
January 1992	16	33	17	18	15	1	
December 1991	19	35	13	19	13	1	
October 1991	27	35	15	12	10	1	
July 1991	38	33	10	11	7	-	
May 1991	42	35	10	8	4	1	
March 1991	50	30	9	6	4	1	
October 1990	20	36	17	15	11	1	
July 1990	26	42	16	10	5	1	
May 1990	28	40	15	11	5	1	
March 1990	32	37	15	10	5	1	
December 1989	28	33	21	11	5	2	

					Stu	uy #4032	page :
	Very <u>Positive</u>	Somewha t <u>Positive</u>	Neu - <u>tral</u>	Somewha t <u>Negative</u>	Very <u>Negativ</u> <u>e</u>	Don't Know Name/ <u>Not</u> Sure	
November 1989	24	38	17	11	8	2	
Bill Clinton							
October 1992	22	29	14	17	17	1	[20]
September 1992	16	31	18	16	17	2	
August 1992	18	28	22	13	15	4	
July 1992	8	22	27	22	16	5	
May 1992	9	24	23	24	15	5	
April 1992	8 7	24 22	20 22	25 19	18 13	5 17	
February 1992 January 1992	5	17	17	5	3	53	
December 1991	3	12	13	4	2	66	
October 1991	3	7	14	5	2	69	
The Republican Party							
October 1992	10	21	19	23	24	3	[21]
September 1992	12	23	21	21	21	2	
August 1992	12	22	18	20	25	3	
October 1990	11	27	24	20	14	4	
Ross Perot							
October 1992	17	30	24	12	13	4	[22]
September 1992	8	16	24	16	27	9	
August 1992	10	15	22	20	24	9	
July 1992	14	23	23	15	16	9	
May 1992 April 1992	13 13	20 18	26 21	7 7	7 6	27 35	
April 1992	13	10	21	,	U	33	
Al Gore							
October 1992	25	27	17	13	11	7	[23]
September 1992	19	28	23	10	10	10	
August 1992	21	28	20	9	8	14	
March 1991	4	17	26	9	2	42	
The Democratic Party							
October 1992	19	29	22	15	12	3	[24]
September 1992	17	28	22	18	13	2	
August 1992	15	31	24	15	12	3	
October 1990	12	27	30	19	8	4	
Hillary Clinton							
October 1992	16	22	23	12	12	15	[25]
September 1992	14	22	30	12	13	9	[_0]
August 1992	12	22	28	12	13	13	
July 1992	7	15	30	16	14	18	
April 1992	8	16	24	17	12	23	
February 1992	7	15	19	9	9	41	
James Stockdale							
October 1992	3	10	29	15	12	31	[26]
Dan Quayle	-	10	1.0	22	2.4	2	F0-7
October 1992	7	19	16	22	34	2	[27]
September 1992	10 10	21 16	20 19	19 20	28 32	2 3	
August 1992 July 1992	7	19	22	21	29	2	
May 1992	5	19	28	20	24	4	
April 1992	6	20	28	22	21	3	
February 1992	7	22	26	20	22	3	
January 1992	6	25	27	20	18	4	

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	Very <u>Positive</u>	Somewha t <u>Positive</u>	Neu - <u>tral</u>	Somewha t <u>Negative</u>	Very <u>Negativ</u> <u>e</u>	Don't Know Name/ <u>Not</u> Sure
December 1991	7	25	28	20	18	2
October 1991	10	25	28	15	18	4
July 1991	9	24	30	18	15	3
May 1991	9	25	27	17	18	4
March 1991	7	26	29	15	18	5
October 1990	5	22	28	19	19	7
July 1990	6	22	33	16	14	9
May 1990	7	22	29	18	19	5
March 1990	7	21	28	17	19	8
November 1989	7	22	26	17	21	7

4a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing as president?

										NBC							
	10/92	9/92	<u>8/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>11/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	9/91	<u>8/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	6/91	<u>5/91</u>	[28]
			<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>			<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>						
Approve	. 32	40	34	38	41	43	45	53	52	51	63	64	70	67	76	74	
Disapprove	. 63	53	60	56	52	52	48	40	41	39	30	27	21	25	21	19	
Not sure	. 5	7	6	6	7	5	7	7	7	10	7	9	9	8	3	7	
		ı															
				<u>3/9</u>	2/9	<u>1/9</u>	12/9	10/3	10/1	9/90	7/90	5/90	4/90	3/90	1/90	11/89	
				1	1	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	0-	9-								
								<u>31/9</u>	<u>21/9</u>								
								<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>								
				81	85	77	57	56	59	75	67	72	75	69	71	67	
				13	11	15	36	32	32	15	22	21	15	19	19	22	
				6	4	8	7	12	9	10	11	7	10	12	10	11	

(FORM A ONLY:)

4b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling the economy?

	10/92	9/92	<u>7/92</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/91</u>	10/91	<u>9/91</u>	7/91	6/91	<u>5/91</u>	[29]
				<u>2</u>			<u>2</u>							
Approve	17	23	19	21	23	23	23	23	31	41	38	47	44	
Disapprov	77	71	76	73	72	72	70	71	61	51	52	48	44	
e														
Not sure.	6	6	5	6	5	5	7	6	8	8	10	5	12	
				<u>3/9</u>	12/90	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>
				<u>1</u>		<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>							
				44	37	35	52	48	51	59	53	54	52	61
				45	54	55	36	41	40	30	35	31	33	24
				11	9	10	12	11	9	11	12	15	15	15

(FORM A ONLY:)

4c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	10/92	9/92	<u>8/92</u>	7/92	<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/91</u>	10/91	<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	[30
Approve Disapprov	62 31	60 33	53 39	51 41	55 37	59 37	60 34	63 30	68 26	70 23	71 23	74 21	74 21	76 18	J
e	_	33	39	41	31	37	54	30	20	23	23	21	21	10	
Not sure.	7	7	8	8	8	4	6	7	6	7	6	5	5	6	
				<u>3/91</u>	12/9 <u>0</u>	10/90	9/90	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	11/89	9/89	
				83	56	63	75	67	67	70	67	69	59	58	
				11	37	30	17	22	25	22	22	21	27	26	
				6	7	7	8	11	8	8	11	10	14	16	

(BOTH FORMS)

5a. Looking ahead to this year's election for U.S. Congress, do you feel your representative deserves to be reelected, or do you think it is time to give a new person a chance?

	10/92	9/92	<u>7/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	12/9	10/91	10/90	<u>11/89</u> [31]
								<u>1</u>			
Reelect representative	31	31	27	33	33	37	42	35	40	39	41
Reelect representative Give new person a chance	56	56	62	57	57	52	48	52	48	48	36

5b. In this year's election for U.S. Congress, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

	10/9 2	<u>9/92</u>	<u>8/92</u>	<u>7/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/9</u> <u>2</u>	<u>2/9</u> <u>2</u>	<u>1/9</u> <u>2</u>	12/9 1	10/9 1	<u>7/9</u> 1	
Vote for the Republican candidate	29	32	29	31	31	32	30	2 <u>9</u>	27	31	29	[32 1
Vote for the Democratic candidate	46	43	43	35	37	36	38	38	33	34	33	•
Depends (VOL)	6	7	7	11	13	14	14	18	26	20	24	
Neither (VOL)	2	1	2	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	
Not sure	17	17	19	20	16	16	17	14	13	14	13	
				10/9 0	9/90	7/9 0	<u>5/9</u> 0	<u>3/9</u> 0	<u>1/90</u>	11/8 9	<u>9/8</u> <u>9</u>	
				3 <u>1</u>	32	33	<u>3</u> 4	25	26	<u>2</u> 7	29	
				40	37	36	33	34	31	32	32	
				12	14	17	22	29	33	28	24	
				3	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	

(FORM A ONLY:)

5c. Let me read you four possible outcomes to this year's congressional elections. Please tell me which one you would most like to see happen. **(READ CHOICES.)**

		=		
	10/92	10/91	10/90	
More Democrats and fewer Republicans in Congress	20	17	20	[33]
More Republicans and fewer Democrats in Congress	18	20	18	
The number of Democrats and Republicans in Congress staying about the same, and a lot of incumbents winning	19	19	22	
The number of Democrats and Republicans in Congress staying about the same, but with a lot of incumbents losing	36	36	32	
Not sure	7	8	8	

(FORM B ONLY:)

5d. Do you think there should or should not be a limit on the number of terms to which a senator or member of Congress can be elected?

	<u>10/92</u>	<u>4/92</u>	10/91	10/90	<u>1/90</u>	
Yes, there should be a limit	79	80	75	72	67	[34]
No, there should not be a limit	17	18	21	24	28	
Not sure	4	2	4	4	5	

(BOTH FORMS)

5e. In general, do you think it is better for the <u>same</u> political party to control both the Congress and the presidency, so they can work together more closely, or do you think it is better to have <u>different</u> political parties controlling the Congress and the presidency to prevent either one from going too far?

	10/92	9/92	<u>8/92</u>	<u>7/92</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	10/9 1	10/90	1/90	9/86 [35]
Better if controlled by <u>same</u> political party	39	40	43	40	32	28	24	23	24	28
Better if controlled by <u>different</u> political parties	47	46	44	47	61	62	67	67	63	64
Not sure	14	14	13	13	7	10	9	10	13	8

6a. If the 1992 presidential election were held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, and Ross Perot, the Independent, for whom would you vote--George Bush, Bill Clinton, or Ross Perot? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

	10/9 2	<u>9/9</u> <u>2</u>	NBC 9/5/9					
George Bush	25	{33	{ <u>∠</u> {31	{26	{3 1	{3 5	{3 [36]
Lean George Bush Bill Clinton	3 44	{39	{38	{40	{2 8	{2 7	{3 0	
Lean Bill Clinton Ross Perot	3 17	{18	{20	{24	{3 3	{3 0	{2 6	
Lean Ross Perot None (VOL) Not sure	2 1 5	1 9	2 9	2 8	2	3	2 4	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WITH A PREFERENCE IN Q.6a.)

6b. When it comes to your support of **(CANDIDATE NAMED IN Q.6a)**, would you say you totally support him, strongly support him, support him with some reservations, or support him only slightly?

	Octob			Septe		NBC	-	August		
	Clinto	Bush	Perot	Clinto	Bush	Clinton	Bush	Clinton	Bush	-
	n	<u>Voter</u>	<u>Voter</u>	n	<u>Voters</u>	<u>Voters</u>	<u>Voters</u>	<u>Voters</u>	<u>Voters</u>	
	<u>Voter</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>Voter</u>						
Support totally	<u>s</u> 24	20	19	<u>s</u> 15	19	13	21	17	17	[37
Support stronglySupport with some	32 40	33 45	35 41	30 47	30 45	34 43	36 38	34 39	29 43	1
reservations Support only slightly Not sure	3	2	4 1	7 1	6	9 1	5 -	9 1	11	

(FORM A--ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WITH A PREFERENCE IN Q.6a.)

7a. What are the most important reasons that you are voting for (CANDIDATE NAMED IN Q.6a)? (PROBE:) How would electing (CANDIDATE NAMED IN Q.6a) be good for the country?

Bush Voters	
Bush will do a better job than the other two candidates	28
Bush has the experience, more qualified	⁼ 24
Bush is honest, sincere	21
Bush is more level-headed, thinks things through	20
Agree with Bush's stand on economic issues	15
Bush has been doing the best he can, he can't get enough help from Congress	11
Don't know; no response	2
•	
	_
Time for a change, Republicans have been there too long	- 32
·	= 32 32
Time for a change, Republicans have been there too long	
Time for a change, Republicans have been there too long Agree with Clinton's stand on economic issues	32
Time for a change, Republicans have been there too long Agree with Clinton's stand on economic issues Clinton will reduce unemployment	32 15
Time for a change, Republicans have been there too long Agree with Clinton's stand on economic issues Clinton will reduce unemployment Clinton will do a better job	32 15 14
Time for a change, Republicans have been there too long Agree with Clinton's stand on economic issues Clinton will reduce unemployment Clinton will do a better job Agree with Clinton's stand on health care	32 15 14 14

Perot is a good businessman not a politician, will run the country like a businessman	39
Agree with Perot's stand on economic issues	33
Time for a change, time for a third party	21
Perot will do a better job	14
Perot has good leadership qualities, independent, owes no	12
favors	
Don't know; no response	1

(BOTH FORMS--ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WITH A PREFERENCE IN Q.6a.)

7b. What are the chances that you might change your mind in the election for president between now and Election Day--is there a good chance that you might change your mind, just some chance, or no chance that you might change your mind?

	Octob			Septe		
	Clinto	Bush	Perot	Clinto	Bush	•
	n	<u>Voter</u>	<u>Voters</u>	n	<u>Voter</u>	
	<u>Votes</u>	<u>s</u>		<u>Voters</u>	<u>s</u>	
Good chance	3	5	8	4	5	[42
]
Just some chance	21	30	46	28	29	
No chance	76	65	45	67	65	
Not sure	-	-	1	1	1	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WITH A PREFERENCE IN Q.6a.)

7c. Regardless of whether you would change your mind or not, which candidate would be your second choice for president? (BE SURE RESPONDENT DOES NOT SELECT SAME CANDIDATE AS IN Q.6a.)

	All <u>Voter</u> <u>s</u>	Clinto n <u>Voters</u>	Bush <u>Voter</u> <u>s</u>	Perot <u>Voter</u> <u>s</u>	
George Bush	21	26	-	41	[43]
Bill Clinton	17	-	26	46	
Ross Perot	46	58	57	-	
No second choice	11	13	12	7	
Other (VOL)	2	1	2	3	
Not sure	3	2	3	3	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

7d. Is there any candidate in the race whom you would rule out completely, and not vote for under any circumstances? (IF YES, ASK:) Which candidate or candidates would you not vote for? (ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES.)

	All <u>Voter</u> <u>s</u>	Clinto n <u>Voters</u>	Bush <u>Voter</u> <u>s</u>	Perot <u>Voter</u> <u>s</u>	
Yes, Would Rule Out One or More					
Candidates George Bush	35	56	_	39	[44]
Bill Clinton	21	-	50	32	>
Ross Perot	18	21	22	-	
No, Would Not Rule Out Any Candidate.	27	24	29	29	
Not sure	3	2	2	2	

8. Now I would like to read you the full ticket of each candidate for president. If the presidential election were held today between George Bush and Dan Quayle, the Republicans, Bill Clinton and Al Gore, the Democrats, and Ross Perot and James Stockdale, the Independents, for whom would you vote--Bush and Quayle, Clinton and Gore, or Perot and Stockdale? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

Bush and Quayle	2	[45]
Clintan and Care	8	
Clinton and Gore	4 0	
Perot and Stockdale	1	
	8	
None (VOL)	1	
Not sure	4	

(FORM A ONLY:)

9a. How confident are you that Bill Clinton has the right set of personal characteristics to be president of the United States--extremely confident, quite confident, only somewhat confident, or not at all confident?

	10/92	9/9	
Extremely confident	14	<u>2</u> 9	[46]
Quite confident	27	23	
Only somewhat confident.	30	37	
Not at all confident	26	28	
Not sure	3	3	

(FORM A ONLY:)

9b. How confident are you that George Bush has the right set of personal characteristics to be president of the United States--extremely confident, quite confident, only somewhat confident, or not at all confident?

	10/92	9/9	
		<u>2</u>	
Extremely confident	14	15	[47]
Quite confident	24	25	
Only somewhat confident	33	33	
Not at all confident	28	25	
Not sure	1	2	

(FORM B ONLY:)

10a. How confident are you that Bill Clinton has the right set of goals and policies to be president of the United States--extremely confident, quite confident, only somewhat confident, or not at all confident?

	<u>10/92</u>	<u>9/9</u>	
Extremely confident	10	<u>∠</u> 10	[48]
Quite confident	23	23	
Only somewhat confident	37	41	
Not at all confident	29	24	
Not sure	1	2	

(FORM B ONLY:)

10b. How confident are you that George Bush has the right set of goals and policies to be president of the United States--extremely confident, quite confident, only somewhat confident, or not at all confident?

	10/92	9/92	
Extremely confident	8	11	[49]
Ouite confident	17	20	

Only somewhat confident	28	35
Not at all confident	46	33
Not sure	1	1

(BOTH FORMS)

11a. During the <u>next year</u>, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	10/9	9/9	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	<u>12/9</u>	10/9	9/91	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/9</u>	
	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>				<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>			1		<u>1</u>	
Better	39	35	28	33	39	39	33	26	26	32	34	37	37	46	[50]
Worse	13	16	23	18	19	23	29	31	32	24	24	23	22	20	
Stay about the	38	42	46	45	39	35	34	38	37	39	37	37	38	27	
same															
Not sure	10	7	3	4	3	3	4	5	5	5	5	3	3	7	
				<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	10/90	9/90	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/8</u>	
				1	<u>0</u>							<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	
				25	21	13	16	20	22	24	21	22	21	25	
				40	45	52	49	33	32	29	30	28	33	23	
				28	30	30	26	40	41	42	44	44	39	43	
				7	4	5	9	7	5	5	5	6	7	9	

11b. I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which <u>one</u> do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country? (READ LIST SLOWLY. <u>START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW</u>. ACCEPT ONLY <u>ONE</u> ANSWER.)

	10/92	9/92	<u>7/92</u>	<u>5/9</u> 2	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/9</u> 2	12/9 1	10/9 1	<u>9/91</u>	<u>7/91</u>	6/91	
Inflation	5	6	6	7	7	5	8	8	10	10	9	9	[51]
Unemployment	48	49	50	43	47	52	53	48	39	37	35	30	_
Interest rates	2	3	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	4	
The federal budget deficit.	28	25	25	24	22	20	16	19	24	23	27	34	
Federal taxes	4	5	4	6	4	4	4	4	7	6	7	7	
The U.S. trade deficit	7	6	7	8	9	9	7	8	8	8	10	11	
All equally important	6	5	6	8	7	7	8	9	8	10	6	3	
(VOL)													
None is important (VOL)	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	
Not sure	-	1	-	2	1	-	1	1	1	3	2	2	

<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>9/89</u>
	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>		<u>0</u>					
9	10	11	13	13	8	9	13	12	12
32	31	26	16	22	21	22	20	23	23
2	3	3	2	3	4	5	5	4	4
29	32	35	43	34	37	35	30	29	32
6	6	7	10	5	9	9	7	7	8
11	10	11	9	14	14	14	17	18	15
10	6	6	6	6	6	4	6	5	4
-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2

12. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The economic and political systems in this country are stacked against people like me"?

	10/92	<u>9/92</u>	<u>7/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>2/92</u>	<u>1/92</u>	12/91	10/91	10/90		10/14- <u>16/88</u>	9/88	8/88	
Agree	49	50	56	45	59	47	43	44	48	42	43	50	43	51	[52]
Disagree	45	45	37	49	37	47	51	49	46	54	48	42	46	39	
Not sure	6	5	7	6	4	6	6	7	6	4	9	8	11	10	

(FORM A ONLY:)

13a. If George Bush is reelected president, do you believe that your own personal taxes will go up or not? (IF "YES," ASK:) Do you think they will go up a lot or just a little?

Taxes will go up a lot	10/92 20	<u>9/92</u> 22	[53 1
Taxes will go up a little	37	39	-
Taxes will not go up	33	32	
Not sure	10	7	

(FORM A ONLY:)

13b. And if Bill Clinton is elected president, do you believe that your own personal taxes will go up or not? (IF "YES," ASK:) Do you think they will go up a lot or just a little?

	<u>10/92</u>	<u>9/92</u>	
Taxes will go up a lot	35	34	[54]
Taxes will go up a little	41	41	
Taxes will not go up	16	18	
Not sure	8	7	

(FORM B ONLY:)

14a. If Bill Clinton is elected president, do you believe that the economy will improve or not? (**IF** "**YES**," **ASK:**) Do you think the economy will improve a lot or just a little?

	10/92	9/92	
Economy will improve a lot	15	13	[55]
Economy will improve a little	40	40	
Economy will not improve	36	38	
Not sure	9	9	

(FORM B ONLY:)

14b. And if George Bush is reelected president, do you believe that the economy will improve or not? **(IF "YES," ASK:)** Do you think the economy will improve a lot or just a little?

	10/92	9/92	
Economy will improve a lot	4	7	[56]
Economy will improve a little	32	32	
Economy will not improve	59	55	
Not sure	5	6	

(FORM B ONLY:)

15. Which do you think is the greater risk--that Bill Clinton, if elected president, will do too much and end up hurting the country, or that George Bush, if reelected, will do too little and end up hurting the country?

Bill Clinton will do too much George Bush will do too little	10/92 32 52	<u>9/92</u> 35 46	[57]
Neither/both equally (VOL)	8	5	
Not sure	8	14	

(BOTH FORMS)

16. Now let me read you a list of some specific issues. When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, who do you think would do the best job as president--Bill Clinton, George Bush, Ross Perot, none of them, or would all of them be about the same? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. <u>START FROM BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)</u>**

	Bill <u>Clinton</u>	Georg e <u>Bush</u>	Ross <u>Perot</u>	None of <u>Them</u>	All of <u>Them</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Dealing with the economy							[58]
October 1992	34	15	36	4	9	2	
July 1992	16	16	37	11	18	2	
May 1992	21	20	29	12	11	7	
Protecting family values							[59]
October 1992	31	30	13	6	13	7	
July 1992 *	12	39	23	5	19	2	
Handling a foreign crisis							[60]
October 1992	17	60	7	3	7	6	
Promoting equal rights for women							[61]
October 1992	55	15	7	3	12	8	
Being someone you can trust							[62]
October 1992	29	26	21	14	6	4	
Dealing with taxes							[63]
October 1992	33	23	26	7	6	5	
July 1992	17	15	33	17	11	7	
May 1992	22	20	25	17	6	10	
Dealing with foreign policy							[64]
October 1992	20	58	8	2	6	6	
July 1992	9	60	14	4	7	6	
Being someone who will work for change							[65]
October 1992	52	11	29	1	5	2	
Dealing with the issue of abortion							[66]
October 1992	46	18	8	7	7	14	
July 1992	27	23	15	15	8	12	
May 1992	24	24	7	14	7	24	
(FORM A ONLY:) Reducing the deficit							[67]
October 1992	24	9	50	6	6	5	
(FORM B ONLY:) Protecting America's interests on trade issues							[68]
October 1992	31	25	30	2	5	7	
July 1992	9	27	37	8	11	8	
May 1992	17	35	23	6	7	12	

^{*} The question read: "Upholding traditional American values."

(BOTH FORMS)

17a. Regardless of how you will vote, when you <u>just</u> consider **(READ ITEM)** would you say you feel satisfied or do you have major doubts about having him as president?

(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) When you <u>just</u> consider **(READ ITEM)** would you say you feel satisfied or do you have major doubts about having him as president? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE ORDER.)**

	<u>Satisfie</u> <u>d</u>	Major <u>Doubt</u> <u>S</u>	<u>Not</u> Sure	
George Bush's goals for what he would do in a second term				[69]
October 1992	31	65	4	
September 1992	36	60	4	
July 1992	33	61	6	
Ross Perot's judgment in appointing people to important positions				[70]
October 1992	33	60	7	
George Bush's explanation for agreeing to raise taxes in 1990				[71]
October 1992	36	59	5	
September 1992	32	62	6	
July 1992	30	65	5	
Bill Clinton's explanation for why he did not serve in the Vietnam War				[72]
October 1992	54	38	8	
September 1992	46	46	8	
July 1992	49	41	10	
Ross Perot's plans for reducing the deficit				[73]
October 1992	51	42	7	
Bill Clinton's explanation of his trip to Moscow in 1969				[74]
October 1992	51	31	18	
George Bush's explanation of his administration's role in providing aid to Saddam Hussein before the Persian Gulf War				[75]
October 1992	26	68	6	
17b. Do you believe that Bill Clinton is a tax-and-spend, big government different kind of Democrat?	kind of E	Democra	t, or is	he a
Bill Clinton is a tax-and-spend, big government 3 Democrat	[76]	I		

(FORM A ONLY:)

18. I'd like to read you a few qualities that a president might have. For each one, please tell me whether you think this describes George Bush very well, describes him fairly well, does not describe him well, or does not describe him at all.

(READ ITEM AND ASK:) Do you think this describes George Bush very well, fairly well, not well, or not at all? (REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	Describe s Very <u>Well</u>	Describe s Fairly <u>Well</u>	Does Not Describe <u>Well</u>	Does Not Describ e <u>At All</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Effective, knows how to get things done					_	
October 1992	12	45	24	17	2	[77 1
July 1992	10	50	25	14	1	•
April 1992 Has good ideas for the future	14	52	20	13	1	
October 1992	12	32	30	23	3	[78 1
July 1992	9	32	34	22	3	•
April 1992	10	36	28	23	3	 0
Honest, a person you can trust						[79 1
October 1992 July 1992 April 1992	24 25 25	33 35 43	19 20 15	22 17 15	2 3 2	•
•						

(FORM B ONLY:)

18. I'd like to read you these qualities that a president might have again. For each one, please tell me whether you think this describes Bill Clinton very well, describes him fairly well, does not describe him well, or does not describe him at all.

(READ ITEM AND ASK:) Do you think this describes Bill Clinton very well, fairly well, not well, or not at all? (REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	Describe s Very <u>Well</u>	Describe s Fairly <u>Well</u>	Does Not Describe <u>Well</u>	Does Not Describ e <u>At All</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
October 1992	27	47	12	9	5	[80
July 1992 April 1992	11 12	46 42	20 18	8 12	15 16	J
Has good ideas for the future	12	72	10	12	10	
October 1992	36	42	11	10	1	[81 1
July 1992	18	49	16	8	9	•
April 1992	17	42	20	10	11	
Honest, a person you can trust						
October 1992	20	33	19	23	5	[82]
July 1992	10	33	27	17	13	•
April 1992	5	28	29	27	11	

(BOTH FORMS)

19a. How much would you say you know about Bill Clinton and what he stands for--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, very little, or nothing at all?

A great deal	1	Very little	10	[83]

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Quite a bit	4	Nothing at all	2
	1		
Just some	3	Not sure	1
	5		

19b.	How impor	tant were th	ne deb	ates in dete	rmining who	o you would	sup	oqo	t for	president	were	they
	extremely	important,	quite	important,	somewhat	important,	or	of	low	importance	to	your
	decision?											

Extremely important	19	[84]
Quite important	24	
Somewhat important	30	
Of low importance	26	
Not sure	1	

(FORM B ONLY:)

20a. In your opinion, has the Bush-Quayle campaign been more of a positive campaign, or more of a negative campaign?

	10/92	NBC	
		<u>9/5/9</u> 2	
More of a positive campaign	23	35	[85]
More of a negative campaign	69	52	
Some of both (VOL)	5	5	
Not sure	3	8	

(FORM B ONLY:)

20b. And in your opinion, has the Clinton-Gore campaign been more of a positive campaign, or more of a negative campaign?

	10/92	NBC 9/5/9	
		2	
More of a positive campaign	64	60	[86]
More of a negative campaign	28	28	
Some of both (VOL)	5	5	
Not sure	3	7	

(BOTH FORMS)

21a. All other things being equal, do you think male candidates or female candidates running for office are more likely to create political change?

Male candidates more likely	1	[87]
Female candidates more likely	5	
Both equally likely (VOL)	1	
Neither likely (VOL)	6	
Not sure	1	

21b. Recently, President Bush announced that in his second term James Baker will lead a new economic team to deal with the American domestic economy. Do you think this will make a major difference, a minor difference, or no difference at all in improving the economy?

Major difference	1	[88]
•	3	
Minor difference	4	
	0	
No difference at all	4	
	2	
Not sure	5	

21c. Now, I would like to read you three statements that compare the views of George Bush, Bill Clinton, and Ross Perot on improving the economy, and then ask you which comes closest to your own point of view. (ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

George Bush calls for a cut in the capital gains tax, an across-the-board tax cut, smaller government with less spending to reduce the deficit, less regulation of business, and legal reforms to eliminate costly and unnecessary lawsuits to help the economy.

Bill Clinton calls for cutting the deficit in half over five years, a tax increase on the wealthy, a tax cut for the middle class, and spending more for education, job training, and building transportation systems to help the economy.

Ross Perot calls for cutting spending and eliminating the entire deficit over five years, cutting Medicare and Social Security for people with higher incomes, and raising the gas tax 10 cents per gallon each year over five years to create jobs, aid education, and rebuild the transportation system.

Which candidate's economic plan do you most favor--George Bush's plan, Bill Clinton's plan, or Ross Perot's plan?

George Bush's plan	25	[89]
Bill Clinton's plan	49	
Ross Perot's plan	23	
Neither/both equally (VOL.)	2	
Not sure	1	

22. I would like to read you two statements about Bill Clinton's activities in protesting the Vietnam War while he was a student in England in 1969. Please tell me which of the statements about this issue comes closer to your point of view. (READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

STATEMENT A: Bill Clinton's actions raise doubts about whether he has the judgment to be president, because it is wrong to demonstrate against your country on foreign soil while it is at war.

OR

STATEMENT B: Bill Clinton's actions do not raise doubts about whether he has the judgment to be president, because he was a young man who was protesting against the Vietnam War, not against his country.

Statement A	25	[90 1
Statement B	70	-
Some of both (VOL).	1	
Neither (VOL)	1	
Not sure	3	

23. If a candidate favors a woman's right to an abortion, would this make you more likely or less likely to support this candidate?

(**IF "MORE LIKELY," ASK:**) Would this make you much more likely or somewhat more likely to support this candidate?

(IF "LESS LIKELY," ASK:) Would this make you much less likely or somewhat less likely to support this candidate?

	10/92	<u>2/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	
Much more likely to support	37	2 42	<u>1</u> 35 20	[91]
Somewhat more likely to	22	19	20	
supportSomewhat less likely to	8	7	10	
support	O	,	10	
Much less likely to support	13	20	24	
Not make much difference	14	5	7	
(VOL)				
Not sure	6	7	4	

24. The Bush Administration has negotiated a North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico to eliminate nearly all restrictions on imports, exports, and business investment between the United States and Mexico. Do you favor or oppose this trade agreement with Mexico? If you feel you have not heard enough about this issue yet to have an opinion, please just say so.

	10/92	9/92	
Favor NAFTA	21	27	[92]
Oppose NAFTA	37	34	
Not heard enough yet	38	35	
Not sure	4	4	

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1.	Did vo	ou happen to	vote in	the 1988	presidential	election?
		Ju Huppen u	, vocc	LIIC TOOO	presidential	CICCLIOII.

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, or Michael Dukakis, the Democrat?

Didn't vote	1	[93]
Voted for George Bush	2 5	
	2	
Voted for Michael Dukakis	9	
Other candidate (VOL)	1	
Too young (VOL) Not sure/refused	3	
Not suic/iciuseu	5	

F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

Very liberal	7	[94]
Somewhat liberal	1	
	9	
Moderate	2	
	6	
Somewhat conservative	2	
	3	
Very conservative	8	
No thoughts	1	
	5	
Not sure	2	

F3. And generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")

Strong Democrat	2 0	[95]
Not strong Democrat	1 5	
Independent/lean Democrat	1	
Strictly Independent	0	
Independent/lean Republican Not strong Republican	8 8 1	
Strong Republican	3 1	
Other	2 3	
Refused Don't know/nothing	1	

F5a.	Grade school	6 3 0 1 9 8 2 1 2 9	which age group you belong to?
	18-24	9 7 6 6 19	[97]
F5b.	This question may seem a little off the topic, but do you handed? Left-handed	1 0 8	open to be left-handed or right-
	Use both hands, ambidextrous (VOL) Not sure/refused	6 3 1	
F6.	What is your marital statusare you single and never marr widowed?	ried,	married, separated, divorced, or
	Single 1 8 Married 6 3 3 Separated 2 Divorced 9 Widowed 8 Not sure/refused -		[99]
F7a.	What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN S OFFICE USE ONLY Professional/manager	2 4 2	E BELOW.)

4

1 8

4

Blue collar worker.....

Farmer.....

Student.....

	Homemaker			Study #4	032page 23
	Retired		2 1		
	Unemployed Never worked/not sure				
(ASK OF ALL WOM F7b. Do you work or	EN .) utside the home or not?				
Wor	k outside the home		3 1		
Do	not work outside the hom	ne	_		
(ASK EVERYONE.)	ot sure/refused		-		
	any member of your hous	ehold, a member o	f a labor unic	n?	
	Labor union membe	er	1 [102]	1	
	Labor union househ		6 8		
			1		
F8a. In what religion	Not sure n were you brought up?		1		
	Protestant		4 [103]	l	
	Catholic		3		
	Jewish		4		
	Other		1 3		
	None Not sure/refused		3 1		
	all Americans, our anceston roup or nationality do r)				
English/Scottish	2 [104 0 1	Slavic (Russian/Po	olish, etc.)		9 [105
Irish		German] 2
Italian		Scandinavian			4
Portuguese French-Canadian	4	African Asian (Chinese, Ja	apanese, Kor	ean, Indian).	9 1
American Indian/Na American		Other			1 5
		Not sure/refused	d		7
F8c. Are you white,	black, Hispanic, Asian, or	_			
	White Black		82 [10 6	5]	
	Hispanic Asian		5 1		
	Other Not sure/refused		1		
home last yea \$20,000 and \$	cogether the yearly incor or, would the total be les \$30,000, between \$30,00 75,000, or would the tota	s than \$10,000, b 00 and \$40,000, b	etween \$10, etween \$40,	000 and \$20,0	000, between

1 5

6

[107]

Less than \$10,000.....

Between \$10,000 and \$20,000......

Between \$20,000 and \$30,000	1
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000	5 1 6
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000	1
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000	3 1
More than \$75,000	1
Not sure/refused	3 5